2: Schaden--130 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/107/

Chapter VIII

Fundamental Elements of the Religion and of the Conception of the World

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1. General characterization of the Guaraní religion confronted by Christianity

In the anthropological study of the religion, in the sense that this is being attempted here, one is not as interested in describing the religious system as in determining the connections and influences that tie human existence, individual and collective, to a certain interpretation of the supernatural, that is, in what way the religion is shown to be responsible for certain characteristics of other cultural spheres and for the formation of dominant traits of the personality.

A fundamental element of all religion is the appraising attitude in confronting earthly life with reference to the destiny of man. Religious systems differ from one another primarily in the way that their doctrines diverge in the interpretation of human existence, an interpretation that is connected with the nature attributed to the gods and the different categories of supernatural beings, with the manner in which the origin of human life is conceived and, in particular, in which the multiple relations between man and the divinities are viewed in the most varied situations of the existence of the group and of the individual.

Religion, the domain of the "sacred," is not infrequently confused with magic and with morality. In fact, there are many points of contact among these three categories of the sociocultural reality, which, nevertheless, differ radically from one another on a theoretical plane, although in some way they always appear interdependent. One of the essential characteristics of morality is the appraisal of human actions, including feelings and thoughts: it is the notion of good and evil. For its part, what distinguishes the magical rite from the religious ceremony is -- as Max Weber and others have very well shown -- their /108/ nature of "technique": the religious attitude and life,

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on the other hand, are set much more in the emotional sphere, where the individual recognizes his dependence in the face of powers, personal or not, that are superior to him (1).

1. /The notes for Ch. VIII appear on pp. 148-152 in the original source./ Having been discussed innumerable times by anthropologists of the most varied orientations, this subject is too general to be taken up again here. Everything is summed up in the possibility of finding theoretically valid criteria of distinction between magic, religion, and morality -- although it is recognized beforehand that we do not have at our disposal satisfactory means of analysis in order to establish the dividing lines in the treatment of concrete material. With reference to the problem, we find particularly promising perspectives in the article by A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, 1943, as well as in some works by Ed. A. Jensen (1949a, b, 1950).

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577 Why is there always a close relationship between the religious domain and the moral one? Is it because human actions -- good or bad -- are regarded as having a direct influence on human destiny -- happy or unhappy --, an influence that may come about in two ways. First, simply as natural causality: bad actions bring about final disgrace, just as any poisonous substance may cause sickness or death. Or then, in the second place, there may be the idea of actions good or bad (metaphysically), stemming from the free will of the individual: they are judged by a deity, that is to say, considered in relation to certain values.

577 The Guaraní distinguishes good and bad actions, good and bad individuals, but in his original doctrine he does not recognize moral responsibility, except vaguely. The individual is good or bad by nature, as by "fate." There is not really free will, because the "genius," the natural disposition, the innate qualities, oblige him to act in a certain way. A typical

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842 After some time she became pregnant. And twins were born.
159 They are Cândido Rondon and Nicolau Marcolino. They are
787 now three years old. "Since then I have believed what the
ñanderú said. Before I did not pray. I did not 'abuse' it, but
sometimes I doubted. Now I do not doubt any more." Before
this Poýdjú, so he says, had no prayer, that is, he had not re-
ceived in a dream individual inspiration in this sense. He says
that he grew old without a prayer. Later he received two more
prayers. When I met him, he had three. Some people, as we
shall see, have more prayers. Poýdjú's wife, called Takuãporã,
[775] has four. On the occasion of my visits, Poýdjú's eldest son had
not yet been reborn, but he had already sent a prayer (the third
one) to his father in a dream. The other prayer (the second one)
was sent by the brother, Avákaudjú. The latter had not yet been
reborn either.

• 77 One might suspect the existence of a contradiction in the
787 informant's report: saying first that the children are sent by
842 Ñanderú and Ñanderykeý, then deceased persons are referred to
as bearers of "souls," respectively "prayers." But it is that the
deities do not always appear personally in the dream; some-
times they send the dead to bring the prayers to those who are
grieved here on earth. And another important fact is to be noted
in Poýdjú's explanation: there is, in a certain sense, a mystical
identification between the souls /113/ sent to earth in order to
be (re)incarnated and the prayers, porahêi, which the individual
receives as gifts from the supernatural world and which he uses,
in any situation, in order to get in contact with the deities and
have religious consolation.

775 The doctrine of conception and reincarnation taught by
774 Fernando Tapari, religious chief of the Ñandéva village of
842 Jacareí, is summarized as follows: Ñandedjára ("Our Lord") can
[756] send to the parents a child that has not yet lived in this world.
[622] It is on the occasion of the birth that the soul, ñeẽ ("speech"), is
conferred on him. In case of reincarnation, it is always the
[833] spirit of a dead child that is reborn by the same mother, the con-
ception taking place either at the time of death or later,
without need of sexual relations.

2: Schaden--142 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/113 cont./

842 775 184 Among the Mbüá, as far as I have been able to uncover it, the theory of conception is practically identical to that of the Ñandéva, with only one important difference, that of not admitting the rebirth of dead people, whether children or adults. "If he did not like it, if he did not become accustomed to the forest, to earth, he went back," as an informant from the village of Rio Branco expressed himself, "it is not in order to return any more; when one goes up, another one comes down." [776] It is God, Ñanderú, who sends the children; nevertheless, the female children "come" from the mother, the male ones from the father (6).

6. /From p. 150 of the original source./ Concerning the theory of conception and the notion of the human soul among the Mbüá of eastern Paraguay, extraordinarily valuable material is found in the book Ayvu Rapyta, by León Cadogan, São Paulo, 1959. It is a very rich source for the study of the mythology, the religion and the social organization of the Mbüá. The work offers many new points of support for again taking up the comparative study of the subgroups of the tribe -- including a large part of the questions touched on in the present essay.

• 77 842 184 The Kayová, according to the teachings of Paí José Bourbon and other experts, tie conception to the idea of djasukávy, some /114/ sort of philosophical principle through which the religion of these Guaraní explains the origin of all things. The djasukávy is not a person, is not a god, but a principle of emanation. From the djasukávy spring all the gods and humanity itself. Such a mythical notion -- almost spontaneous generation -- dispenses on the one hand, and in the conjunction of collective representations, with the myth of the creation of the first men and, on the other hand (like all genuinely mythical ideas), has the exemplary function applicable to concrete and isolated cases, that is, to each appearance of a human embryo.

2: Schaden--143 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

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• 77 842 184 And it contributes, finally, to the mystical identification of the earthly humanity with the celestial one -- i.e., the tavýterẽ --, the constant theme of the religious songs of the Kayová. Through conception the celestial children (tavytera) are incarnated, sent by the civilizer hero Paĩ Kuará, and come mainly from a region of the firmament, the yrukúýtétẽ, located in the direction of the southwest. The child that dies returns to the yrukúýtétẽ; it may be reincarnated, being reborn by the same mother, if the family grieves greatly over the death of the little one. Adults, however, do not return to earth, nor would they want to. (This principally according to explanations [833] by Paĩ Tomás of Dourados.) As for sexual relations, they are thought of, so I have heard, as a coadjutant factor, not always strictly indispensable for conception.

794 756 115 With the exception of two Ñandéva doctor-sorcerers, Fernando and Hilário, from the village of Jacareĩ, and perhaps one or another Kayová, all the experts on Guaraní doctrine with whom I worked admitted as certain the plurality of the human soul. Those two specialists, however, insisted premptorily that man has only one soul, ñaneñeẽ (guẽ), which is in the chest. Perhaps they were closer to the ideas that were dominant in pre-Jesuit times.

794 The most characteristic doctrine is that of the Ñandéva, for whom, aside from the exceptions mentioned, the soul is composed of several units, two or more in number, but in any case belonging to two basic categories, the spiritual tendencies, on the one hand, and the vital and instinctive ones on the other hand. The [171] pluralist concept of the soul is obviously not peculiar to the Guaraní and much less to the Ñandéva subgroup, for it has been reported innumerable times among South American native tribes. 794 But the reduction of this plurality to an opposition between the 170 spiritual manifestations and the vital tendencies of the individual 797 seems to constitute an exceptional case, which may perhaps be accounted for by the /115/ Jesuit catechism. True, the missionaries did not teach the Guaraní that a man is the bearer of two souls, but the idea of good and bad inclinations in constant opposition and struggle within each one, plus the moral demand

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774 775 828 With the rebirth of the deceased, explains Sebastião, not only does the ayvukuê(porãvê) return, but also the corresponding atsýyguá. Which is to say that the anguêry disappears and there is no longer any shade. It is then said: "Oĩmangá djevý hó yvýpy." he was reborn, that is, he died and returned to this earth. The interesting idea that merits being noted here is that of a kind of involution through which the atsýyguá goes, in order to take up its childish form again, either embryonic or only potential, with which to start its career on the earth's surface again. Thus, in spite of the psychological theory of the innate qualities, the Guaraní makes the individual character depend on the experiences that he goes through in the course of his life, on the things that he practices, and by which his atsýyguá develops more or less. In the final analysis, behavior does not stem from the character, but the character from the behavior.

• 77 184 182 828 In spite of the common foundation of the collective representations that form the skeleton of the psychological doctrine of the Ñandéva, we see that any attempt at a categorical and rigid description would be illusory, because the basic scheme is capable of more or less individualistic elaboration and variation, according to the religious experience of each priest or the vigor of his imagination. From village to village the researcher thus notes the existence of new ideas and the absence of others; from village to village he records peculiar transformations and accretions, owing to the uniqueness of the historical situation of the interethnic contacts to which the group has been subjected.

The same is evidently true for the other subgroups. Thus just as the Ñandéva psychological doctrine presented here is diverging, sometimes in one direction, sometimes in another, from what Nimuendajú left us, that of the Mbüá does not agree -- or does not now agree -- with the one that Cadogan found among the Indians of the Paraguayan Guaíra (11).

11. /From p. 151 of the original source./ Cadogan, 1962.

2: Schaden--152 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

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•77 114 115 What is /119/ presented in these pages is that of the village of Rio Branco, collected principally from the lips of my friend Capitão Francisco, who, although he does not use the title flanderú, is a family chief with an active and intense religious life.

774 [826] For the Mbüá, according to the source indicated, the human being is divided into txeretẽ ("my body") and txeñeẽ (my spirit, or in literal translation, "my tongue" or "speech"). In spite of this summary designation for the soul, there is the idea of plurality, in consequence, we might say, of an attempt at analytical comprehension of txeñeẽ from the point of view of its qualities and inclinations. In contrast to what is given for the Ñandéva, the biotic tendencies of man do not constitute [184] [114] an "animal" soul of the individual for the Mbüá, as Cadogan also observed in the group studied by him (12).

12. /From p. 151 of the original source./ Cadogan, 1952, p. 33.

774 828 [191] The Mbüá (Rio Branco) admit the existence of three souls in each individual, two good ones and one bad one, which are manifested through communication, that is, by means of language and a process that we might call comparable to telepathy. The bad soul and one of the good ones produce good representations or manifestations relative to other persons, who may be found in the vicinity as well as at great distances. It is therefore a matter of the person in his relations with other human beings. The third human soul, a kind of protector spirit, has charge of the individual's safety, for example, keeping watch over him when he is asleep alone in the forest. It is not, as it might appear, a being distinct from the man, as the Christian Guardian Angel is, but an integral part of his person (somewhat like the demon of Plato) and is likewise called ñeẽ. It is even the first of the three souls sent by God, like, say, the initial nucleus of the personality.

2: Schaden--184 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

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Eugênio, who could have had the duty of conducting the prayers according to the tribal system. But perhaps there was no possibility of arriving at an understanding. Eugênio, for example, did not live in good relations with the family of Arnaldo, who years earlier had disputed with him the patent of capitão of the village. Thus the social disorganization opens the way for religious acculturation. While the decision to "have a mass prayed" according to Catholic or caboclo rites is not important, of course, in the sacrifice of the old beliefs, it nevertheless prepares the ground for their replacement.

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/141/ A very significant fact is that the Catholic elements accepted with great facility are those that refer to the cult of the saints as it is known among the neighboring rural populations. Images or prints of saints are not rare in the Ñandéva houses. At Bananal a young Ñandéva opened a small store or "xiboca" in his house, but since movement was very slow, he gave up the business and changed the counter into an altar, decorating it with wax candles and images of saints put in a niche; he was careful not to take a drink within sight of the images, so as not to be disrespectful and not to strip them of their "forces." In the house of João Samuel, a Ñandéva who had lived for some years in São Vicente, there was a small altar with many images of saints. He had "bartered" with a "santeiro" /a "saint man"/, a dealer in religious articles, for them. (Images of saints are not "bought" or "sold," but are "bartered for" by means of money, a chicken, or anything else.) On João Samuel's altar there was an image of Santo Onofre, who "makes many miracles, but one must give him a little glass of water or water with wine, so he will not run away." There was a little church with the Good Jesus of Pirapora; before it the houseowner put a small coin as "promise." At one side, Santo Antônio, "with his little son." And other saints. João Samuel used to light a candle for all, and sometimes he would put on the altar, in order to make it more effective, the medicine that someone in his household had to take.

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[432]

2: Schaden--210 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/163 cont./

The belief in the end of the world is far from having a uniform character in the different Guaraní populations, as happens, by the way, with the majority of their religious teachings. The Mbüá believe in an imminent Deluge, in a Universal Fire, and also in a prolonged darkness. For the Ñandéva, the catastrophe that threatens them consists principally in a general fire followed by the crumbling of the earth's surface, represented as a disk. Among the Kayová, as has already been said in an earlier chapter, there is found a description of a scene, rich in detail, in which there is mention of flying horses, macao arrow-shooters, and other types of monsters.

What is certain is that today the representation of Paradise appears closely bound up with the cataclysmology. Before the inevitable catastrophe happens, one hopes to reach the Land without Evil. Already at the time of the Jesuits, the native belief in Paradise or in happiness in the Beyond (in general without passing through the trial of death) was mixed with Christian elements, and, by virtue of the frustration of the attempts to reach the land of happiness, the myth is nowadays undergoing further transformations, obviously in connection with the general acculturative process.

If we maintain that the import of the representation of Paradise among the Guaraní is essentially linked to its relation with the cataclysmology, it should be understood by import not so much the function in religious life as, before anything else, the role that it has /164/ filled in the historical destiny of so many hordes of the tribe. Many of them had their fate sealed in part by the fact that they were seized by a true religious delirium, abandoning everything that they possessed, and migrating with women and children across territories peopled by enemy tribes, in the direction of the seacoast, and in part because they did not have at their disposal the cultural and psychic necessities for victory over the obstacles encountered in the civilized world.

/168 cont./

772 771 173 in order not to become heavy. Many did go up to the Land of Nanderykey. But it was necessary to pray with great faith. The sea would open at their feet and form a bridge, over which they passed, in order, on the other side, to ascend to the yvý ñomimbyré. The "old ones" wanted to get there, "because people do not die there"; it is a "sacred land." The late Arnaldo -- who did not hold ñemongaraí on the beach, but only in the forest -- said that it was very easy: the sea became small, "it was a tiny puddle." But Arnaldo did not succeed in ascending, "because all of us made mistakes for him." Nowadays it is no longer possible, because "all of us make mistakes"; many "are potýý, very brave," others "always want to make love."

772 771 178

• 77 The attitude of old Silvino Rufino, Nandéva of Itariri, seems no less significant to me. In his village there lived for some time, as we have seen, the Mbüá who came from Paraguay in 1946. Rufino considered them "somewhat different," because of their mania to cross the sea. He put them in the same category with the "believers" (Protestants), who, he said, also lived in hope that God would send them "the path /169/ that leads to heaven." Rufino thought that the Land without Evil exists, but he did not believe that one could go there. He argued: If even God, when he was in the world, and who was not a sinner, had to die in order to go to heaven, how much more we sinners. After death, yes, we shall go; the spirit goes. But then we shall all go. "There is only one way. It is true that there are two ways. But the other one, the one that goes to hell, is only for those who are furthermore great sinners." -- In another sense, too, the religious ideas of Silvino Rufino were corrupted with Christian conceptions. While the majority of the Nandéva distinguish between heaven properly speaking (yváy, realm of Nanderuvutsú with his yvyráídjá Mbaékuaá) and, located a little lower, the Land without Evil (yvý marã eỹ or yvý ñomimbyré, under the rule of Nanderýkey, son of Nanderuvutsú, assisted by his yvyráídjá Tyvýr, son of Mbaékuaá), for him it was all the same thing -- a heaven partly native partly Christian, dominion of all those deities.

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2: Schaden--218 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/169 cont./ 2. The Mbüá

772 771 [114] [167] Nowadays the group in which the myth of Paradise fills the most important role seems to be the Mbüá. From Nimuendajú's works one cannot learn with absolute certainty whether in times past this subdivision of the tribe participated in the migratory movements. At present, however, the Mbüá are the only ones that are directed toward the coastal region.

772 771 177 [114] With regard to the subject focused on here the Mbüá-Guaraní deserve special attention because of the simple fact of there being several groups among them who have preserved in their traditions a great number of teachings of Christian origin, side by side with others, particularly those studied by Cadogan and in part by me in eastern Paraguay (Guaíra), in whose culture no Jesuit influence has as yet been determined.

772 771 [184] It seems that in relation to these last ones, that is, the Mbüá who in times past were not found within the radius of action of the missions, the original native belief in Paradise in its genuine form of aguydjé, that is, as spiritual and physical perfection, now exists more clearly than it does in any other group. At least this is what is understood from the material collected by León Cadogan. Everything seems to indicate that the combination with the myth of the destruction of the world goes back to the clauses in religion given in the Jesuit missions of the colonial era.

• 77 184 /170/ On the one hand we have the above-mentioned Mbüá of Guaíra, in whose mental life the role of the cataclysmology of the future is null or almost null and for whom the ideal of paradise continues to be essentially religious, being identified in the last analysis with a mystical state of happiness obtained as a reward for a special cultivation of supernatural experiences and for "virtuous" behavior, a state that refers less to the physical conditions of existence than to the fate of the soul; on the other hand, those who have already reached the coast or who are on the way to the sea, and who look at Paradise primarily as a place of refuge and security with ideal conditions of life. This sense given to the myth springs from the activation of the belief in the destruction of the world by means of the religious experiences of certain doctor-sorcerers.

/172 cont./

183 771 772 648 [796] destruction of the world and to receive as quickly as possible the revelation of the path to the promised land. As a result of the conflicts with the colonists and the Government officials, the mythical dream and the cataclysmology tied to it assumed in a short time the character of a true obsession. When I once handed [124] [828] these Indians some sheets of paper and a pencil, asking them to draw anything whatsoever, they at once set out to represent scenes of the end of the world and the path that leads to the Beyond, so passionately desired.

• 77 As for the idea of the path, it is necessary to mention its importance in the conjunction of the collective representations of the Kayová, as well as, by the way (although to a less attenuated degree), of the other subdivisions of the tribe. The /173/ ñanderú [184] [782] might invoke for his position the evangelical phrase: "I am the way, the truth and the life." And it is particularly the image of the path that in crisis situations assumes the form of an obsessive idea. In the tribal myth it is distinguished, among the Ñandéva, as the path of the primordial mother looking for the father of the twins. Among them, as among the Kayová, it takes concrete expression in the dangerous path of the soul after death, as well as in the path of the soul in the prayer in its passage through the celestial realm of the deities. In all the groups, however, the most significant form is the path whose revelation is awaited in order to reach the [124] realm of happiness. The Kayová, invited to draw, tried to portray with the pencil how the path used by the doctor-sorcerer on his frequent visits to the sky appeared to them. -- All this reminds [829] us that the Guaraní characterize themselves as tapédjá as a nation of wanderers and travelers.

[782] [184] All the different prayers that accompany the religious dances and that extend through the night until the break of day, according to what the Kayová repeatedly told me, are nothing but paths that lead to the presence of the gods. The ayvú as well as the yvyráídjá. "Without a path," one informant told me, "one does not arrive at the place that one intends to reach."

2: Schaden--223 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guaraní SM4
Kayová

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77 182 829 As long, however, as existence on this earth seems more or less tolerable for him and as long as no unequivocal signs of the impending destruction of the world appear to him, the Kayová does not exert himself to find the path that leads definitively to the better world. In the course of his life on this earth he is not infrequently offered the opportunity, on the occasion of the religious dances, of admiring the splendor, the magnificent brilliance of the gods. This fully satisfies him. As for death, he sees it soberly as an institution inherent in human nature and interprets it as the passage of the soul (ayvú) to the celestial realm. Such an attitude, nevertheless, does not prevent him from generally finding the causa mortis in practices of black magic attributed to fellow tribesmen.

All this shows quite well that among the Kayová the apocalyptic threat, although it is constantly present in the mind of all, does not assume the character of concrete actuality as long as the activating factor does not appear. It was with the despair caused by the disastrous interference of the colonization authorities in the conditions of life of the village that this factor presented itself. But on the base of pessimism there quickens in its turn the paradisiacal ideal, and the whole community surrenders itself with great fervor to the religious practices that lead to salvation.

77 177 182 /174/ Thus, in recent years the penetration of civilized colonists, Brazilians and Europeans, into the forests belonging to the Kayová, provoking or exacerbating a state of cultural poverty, has transformed the myth into a force of social expression. There has fallen to it the function of helping the Indians overcome psychically the insecurity and the crisis situation.

77 182 829 With regard to the Guaraní who did not migrate to the coast and who in their native villages regularly perform the ceremonies designed to obtain aguydjé, one cannot properly speak of frustration. The primitive conditions of life have not been shaken to the point of giving rise to a need for the immediate realization of

2: Schaden--224 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

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/174 cont./ the mythical dream. But in the village of Araribá, for example, where there live about a hundred Ñandéva whose ancestors hopefully undertook the migration to the coast and who, after the lack of success in their ceremonies, were conducted to the interior of the State of São Paulo, in order to spend their days in a post of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, the spirit of the aborigines has been continuously dominated by the fear of some evil that might happen. This not infrequently generates a deep weariness which in persons with a markedly mystical disposition comes to be transformed into a kind of thanatomania. As a result of the disillusion, the primitive aspiration, aguydjé, which includes the desire to escape death, is converted, at least in a certain sense into the contrary attitude, into the wish to die. One tries to die as soon as possible, in order immediately to enter Paradise, where then, it is quite true, there is no longer the phenomenon of death.

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The transformation of the myth among the Guaraní who, for a period corresponding to a generation or more have lived on the Paulista coast in more or less continuous contact with the civilised population of the region has taken place in a quite different direction. They resort to Christian elements to explain the poor results of the ceremonies and thus to reinterpret the original myth. Phenomena of cultural change and social disorganisation are utilised in their turn as proofs and recourses of demonstration. In former times, when people prayed with true faith and confidence, when the honey of the wild bees and many fruits were eaten, instead of excessive meat of game (which has the inconvenience of making the body "heavy"), when the relations among the fellow tribesmen were harmonious and when abstention in sexual life was known, yes, in /175/ former times many were able to walk through the sea, which opened up at their feet, and, on the opposite shore, to enter Paradise, where death need not be feared. Nowadays, however, the efforts of the doctor-sorcerer are doomed to poor results from the outset because of the simple fact that harmony does not reign within the community and there are constant quarrels and fights.

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2: Schaden--225 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

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77 182 177 178 [557] It is therefore in the feeling of guilt that the Guaraní finds the explanation for the lack of success. He feels guilty for having deviated from the forms of life of the ancestors by accepting so many things from the civilized world, by the relaxation of the old patterns of solidarity with fellow tribesmen, and, finally, by the fact of having assimilated the Christian idea of sin, which has been integrated in the structure of traditional representations. The present position of the myth in the whole of the Guaraní conception of the world is, therefore, closely bound up with the cultural and social transformations stemming from contact with civilization.

77 182 By way of conclusion, it is fitting to state precisely once more in a few words the factors responsible for the activation of the myth, as well as the consequences of the frustration and the situation of cultural poverty itself.

[197] In essence, these factors may be reduced to three: first, a deep religious desire, a manifestation of the equally deep mysticism of the whole tribal religion; secondly, cataclysmology and, concretely, the fear of the imminent destruction of the world; and, thirdly, the state of deprivation /cited in English/ caused by cultural contacts. [184] One should emphasize, however, that the three factors do not manifest themselves uniformly in the different subdivisions of the tribe, in the diverse villages, and in the various historical situations. The role of the mythical representation depends on the predominance of one or another of them in the general picture of the individual or collective experiences, sometimes undergoing considerable changes.

77 177 178 182 [422] The consequences of the frustration in connection with the situations of interethnic contact, finally, can be summed up in the following sentences: 1. The ideal of culture and life, an element of community cohesion, loses its polarizing force, one noting that the groups are dissolved more easily, a situation which must be understood as reciprocal causality. 2. In connection with this, the authority of the doctor-sorcerer, originally exclusive, is influenced and weakened, not only by the fact that he is failing in his principal task, but also by the incapacity, stemming from his conservatism and his antiacculturative attitudes, to correspond

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2: Schaden--226 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

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to the /176/ demands of the new conditions, which forces him to share the power with a civil chief. 3. Teachings of the Christian doctrine are invoked to explain the frustration, making possible a reinterpretation of the myth. 4. The frustration is related in causal terms to the aspects of cultural change appraised negatively, which favors the strengthening of antiacculturative reactions. 5. Both the negative result of the ceremonies and the misery and poverty stemming from the carelessness of the economic activities result in general psychic depression, a persecution mania, flight toward sickness and other such morbid manifestations (10).

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 228]

10. /From pp. 177-178 of the original source./ It is necessary, in my opinion, to include among these manifestations the considerable consumption of sugar-cane aguardiente among the present-day Guaraní, undoubtedly bound up with the larger sphere of the acculturative problems. No great effort is needed to see that the tendency toward alcoholism increases in direct proportion to the social disorganization and the frequency of contacts with foreigners. The most prone to the vice are the Ñandéva and Mbüá of the villages of Bananal, Itariri, and Rio Branco: the least, the Mbüá most faithful to the original patterns of their culture, such as, for example, the Mbüá of the Serra dos Itatins, who came from Paraguay in 1948 and among whom, on the occasion of my visits, there was no inveterate drinker.

The attitude of the Indians regarding drunkenness is interesting. Some, generally the ones most acculturated, feel little pleasure when the subject is mentioned; they are ashamed of the vice, which they try to fight, even by means of remedies. Others, like the Mbüá of Rio Branco, talk about their tendency toward the use of drink without the least constraint: "Sometimes a person

2: Schaden--228 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/176 cont./

/footnote 10 cont./

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substitute motivation for the objectives dictated by the culture and whose realization has become utopian by virtue of the transformations arising from cultural contacts.

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and in exceptional cases in thanatomania and suicide. /The notes for Ch. X appear on pp. 176-178 in the original source./

/179/ Conclusion

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Since the fundamental characters of the culture and of the acculturative processes have become quite explicit as the observed facts were presented, a final chapter devoted especially to the interpretation of the data seems dispensable. Rigorously speaking, the pages on the role of the myth of Paradise in the culture and in the life of the three subtribes constitute the conclusion of the essay. This myth, the point of convergence of the most significant manifestations of acculturation is, without doubt, one of the master keys for an understanding of the tribal culture, as well as of the phenomena of cultural disintegration and social disorganization observed in the Guaraní groups now existing in Brazilian territory.

It is sufficient, therefore, to take up again here some of the main points, with the aim of emphasizing the more important general aspects.

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All the spheres of the Guaraní cultural configuration, as far as it can be studied in the villages in Brazil, show profound influences from the point of view of acculturation, undergone in two distinct epochs and in essentially different situations of contact. The first ones, at the time of the Jesuit missions, affected the religious system in particular, with regard to the ceremonies as

2: Schaden-- 232 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/182 cont./

177 religious worship, is also weakened. Spending a large part of
18 his time on fazendas or yerbales, the man develops interests and
596 attitudes not very favorable to the spirit of the great-family. It is common for the young fellows and married men to spend in one night the proceeds from a week of work, not infrequently forgetting to provide for the sustenance of the family group. The great-family ceases to be the unit of production and consumption,
[594] yielding its place to the elementary family, whose stable nucleus is sometimes reduced to a woman with her smaller children.

• 77 It is in the religious system that, in spite of the great differ-
18 ences from one subgroup to another, Guaraní culture finds the
177 maximal expression of its fundamental unity. And it is in the religion that the defense mechanisms and the conditions of cultural resistance appear in their most manifest form.

77 As everything indicates, the principal mark that the Jesuit
18 missions of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries left on the
177 Guaraní religion was the emphasis assumed by the cataclysmology
[77] (in particular the destruction of the world in the future), bound up with the idea of redemption in the mythical Paradise. Some of the teachings transmitted in the catechism, finding points of support in certain notions of the traditional doctrine, came to constitute centers of re-elaboration of the religion of the tribe.

In the last two centuries there have been few attempts at the systematic Christianization of the Guaraní living in Brazil, among them the catechizing that has been going on for decades at the Evangelical mission of Dourados. The result is that the religious acculturation of the contemporaneous Guaraní groups originates almost exclusively through contact with the rural or urban Luso-Brazilian populations, through a reinterpretation, in magical terms, of the Christian elements. And, as they are transferred to the religious sphere properly speaking, the new practices and ideas are integrated into the traditional system thanks to an effort to reconcile the two religions on the basis of similarities and analogies. Thus, for example, the angels of the Christian belief are easily identified with the Nande-ísara xondárogi, auxiliary
[illegible] with the [illegible] doctrine mentions.

2: Schaden--233 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1982 SM4 Guarani SM4

/182 cont./

spirits, which the Kayová doctrine mentions. Furthermore, the margin of individual variability in the interpretation of the world, far from imposing a rigorously closed doctrinary body on the /183/ Guaraní believer, trains him for ample tolerance with regard to incongruences or even contradictions. It is probable that in ancient times, when Nandéva, Mbüá, and Kayová families did not yet live together in one and the same village, the beliefs and ceremonies of each one of the subtribes constituted a more rigid and well defined whole.

Among the contemporaneous Guaraní, religious acculturation proceeds parallel to the adoption of new moral ideas, among them that of individual guilt. The Guaraní religion, one must insist on this, does not, except vaguely, recognize free will as a basis for the evaluation of human actions with regard to the fate of the soul post mortem. Good and evil are not qualities inherent in the actions of the individual, but necessary consequences of the nature of the one who performs them. Although susceptible of supernatural sanction (perhaps by way of reward or revenge), the author is not considered morally responsible for his actions.

It is in consequence of miscegenation and detribalization that the ceremonies and feasts prescribed by the tribal religion are little by little abandoned. For the realization of the great feasts the presence of all the members of the group is required: in most cases it is not possible to assemble everybody, because there is always someone to be found abroad, working on a fazenda or yerbal. And furthermore, if it is certain that the Guaraní religion constitutes the "nucleus of resistance" of the tribal culture, it is no less certain that the religion is the first thing rejected by the mestizos. Because of the cultural disillusion stemming from that, there is no ground for a communitary spirit that would join together the pure and mestizo Guaraní. Were it not for their common position before the white man, the fact that they share with the Guaraní up to a certain point the attention of relative disdain in which caboclos and coastal people always put them, the mestizos, not infrequently characterized as being maliciously clever and troublemakers, would soon disown their native ancestry.

/183 cont./

The frustration of the Guaraní in the effort to be looked at and treated on an equal footing with the inhabitants of Portuguese origin, added to the previous experience of not having succeeded in going to the Land without Evil, favors now and again the appearance of antiacculturative attitudes, leading to the rejection of elements of the material culture previously accepted, but above all to a reviviscence, even though ephemeral, of the religion of the ancestors, in cases where the latter already shows signs of disintegration.

/Page 184 is blank; pp. 185-188 contain the bibliography, which is omitted in the translation, but is available in the foreign text./

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

a cabo (Vogt, 1904, p. 203). Today the number of Indians under the authority of a chief vary from 20 to about 100.

The members of the ancient *Guaraní* communities built the houses of their chiefs and tilled their fields and harvested their crops (Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 49).

Law and order.—It is only about modern *Caingud* communities that there is some information on justice and law. Thieves are detected by shamans, who touch each suspected man on the chest near the heart. If the fingers leave a red mark, the man is guilty. A stolen wife must be returned with a present. In case of murder, if the criminal's relatives do not pay the wergild to prevent a feud, the offended family takes the punishment into its own hands.

Etiquette.—Among ancient *Guaraní*, when a guest entered a hut, he was surrounded by women who wailed and enumerated the deeds of his dead relatives. The guest covered his face with his hands and shed a few tears. The amount of crying and wailing was proportionate to the importance of the visitor (Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52).

LIFE CYCLE

Birth and naming.—Even in modern days, a pregnant woman must avoid any food that might make her child abnormal. After childbirth, the father lies in his hammock until the infant's navel cord falls off, refraining from activities thought harmful to the baby. The *Apapocuva* believe that babies are reincarnated dead people, hence one of the shaman's first tasks is to identify the returning spirit and, by means of his supernatural power, to obtain a magic substance to be rubbed into the child's body. Infant baptism, though Catholic in many respects, is permeated by ancient rites and beliefs. Names refer to mythical beings or to sacred objects associated with the place on the horizon from which the soul is supposed to have come. Children may be very closely identified with the deities of the Upper World, and those from the west, the abode of Tupã, may receive a miniature of the bench symbolic of their divine namesake. In case of danger, especially if a person is sick, his name is changed and a new ceremony of baptism is performed (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, pp. 302–303).

Boys' initiation.—A *Caingud* boy undergoes something of an initiation rite when, prior to puberty, his lower lip is perforated for the insertion of a labret. After a group of boys has been somewhat acculturated with hoe, a specialist performs each boy's lower lip with a wooden or deer-horn awl and prays to Tupã that the labret may protect its wearer against death. For the three following days the initiates eat only maize meals. After their initiation they drop the infantile "a, a" (you) for the adult masculine "ha."